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UA3/3/1 Freedom is an Unfinished Business

Chester Travelstead

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FREEDOM IS AN UNFINISHED BUSINESS
(WESTERN COMMENCEMENT, MAY 30, 1963)
CHESTER TRAVELSTEAD

I INTRODUCTION

PRESIDENT THOMPSON, PLATFORM GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND
STUDENT BODY, PARENTS AND FRIENDS, AND ESPECIALLY ^{THESE OF YOU IN} ~~MEMBERS~~ OF THE
1963 GRADUATING CLASS.

I AM INDEED HONORED TO BE ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN WESTERN'S
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES. THIS IS A GLORIOUS EVENT FOR ALL OF YOU,
AND I AM GLAD TO BE A PART OF IT. I CONGRATULATE ALL THOSE RECEIVING
DEGREES THIS EVENING. THIS IS A GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENT FOR ^{EACH OF BUT} YOU, ~~AND~~ I
^{ALSO} WOULD LIKE TO ADD [^] THAT YOUR PARENTS AND TEACHERS ~~AND~~ DESERVE MUCH
CREDIT FOR THEIR PART IN HELPING YOU EARN THESE DIPLOMAS.. I'M SURE YOU
REALIZE THIS AND THAT YOU WILL EXPRESS YOUR APPRECIATION TO THEM.

I MUST ADMIT THAT I AM TEMPTED TO BECOME SENTIMENTAL AND TO
REMINISCE HERE THIS EVENING. FOR EXACTLY 30 YEARS AGO TONIGHT I
GRADUATED IN THIS SAME STADIUM. AND ~~JUNE~~ 29 YEARS AGO THIS WEEK MY
WIFE, WHO IS SEATED IN THE AUDIENCE, RECEIVED HER DEGREE HERE.
THEN GOING BACK EVEN EARLIER WHEN I GREW UP AS A BOY ON THIS CAMPUS,
I CAN REMEMBER VERY EASILY WHEN THERE WAS NO STADIUM HERE AT ALL -
JUST AN OLD ROCK QUARRY. (I REMEMBER THIS SO VERY WELL BECAUSE I
FELL OFF THE TOP OF IT ONE TIME.) I CAN REMEMBER ~~WHEN~~ WHEN COACH
DIDDLE COACHED NOT ONLY BASKETBALL BUT ALSO FOOTBALL, BASEBALL, AND
TRACK - AND WHEN COACH HORNBACK AND COACH ELROD WERE THEMSELVES
STAR ATHLETES ON THIS CAMPUS.

THEN OF COURSE ALL OF THIS RELATES CLOSELY TO THE ~~WHICH~~ 44
 WHICH MY MOTHER (WHO IS ALSO SEATED IN THE AUDIENCE) SPENT ON
 THIS CAMPUS AS A FACULTY MEMBER - FIRST IN THE LIBRARY THEN LATER
 IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND MUSIC.

I COULD ALSO REMINISCE ON THE PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF WESTERN
 DURING THIS WHOLE PERIOD - ESPECIALLY IN RECENT YEARS UNDER THE
 VERY ABLE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT THOMPSON.

II. EXPLANATION OF TOPIC

~~BUT~~ BUT I SHALL RESTRAIN MYSELF AND NOT DWELL ON THESE THINGS.
 RATHER DO I WANT TO TALK ABOUT A TOPIC WHICH I HAVE LABELED:
 "FREEDOM IS AN UNFINISHED BUSINESS."

THERE ARE MANY REASONS WHY I CHOSE TO TALK ABOUT "FREEDOM."

1. THE FIRST IS THAT TODAY IS MEMORIAL DAY, THE TIME WHEN
 THIS NATION HONORS THOSE PERSONS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE CAUSE
 OF FREEDOM.

2. NEXT, BECAUSE OF MY RECENT TRIP TO ISRAEL WHICH INCLUDED
 A REVIEW OF THE INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE IN THAT NEW AND EXCITING
 COUNTRY - A SITUATION WHICH HAS SUCH DEEP IMPLICATIONS FOR FREEDOM.

3. THEN, THE FACT THAT 1963 IS THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF ~~THE~~
 THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, ~~WHICH WAS THE TURNING POINT OF THE~~
~~WAR~~ ^{OF} AND [^]THE FAMOUS EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION DRAFTED
 AND ISSUED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

4. ALSO, NUMEROUS NEWS STORIES ABOUT FREEDOM WHICH HAVE
 APPEARED RECENTLY CAUSED ME FURTHER TO THINK ABOUT THIS MATTER.

I SHALL MENTION JUST A FEW OF THE HEADLINES I HAVE IN MIND.

- a) "TEXTBOOKS UNDER INCREASING ATTACK BY CENSORS."
- b) "SCATTERED EVENTS VIEWED AS THREAT TO MAN'S RIGHT TO PRACTICE HIS FAITH"
- c) "CRUSADER FOR RACIAL INTEGRATION KILLED IN COLD BLOOD IN ALABAMA"
- d) "KENNEDY ACCUSED OF 'MANAGING' THE NEWS"
- e) "AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION SAYS FREEDOM TO READ IS UNDER ATTACK"
- f) "JOHN HENRY FAULK (RADIO NEWS ANALYST AND COMMENTATOR) FINALLY CLEARED AFTER SIX YEARS OF COURT PROCEEDINGS OF FALSE CHARGES BY A GROUP KNOWN AS AWARE, INC. - ^{FALSE} (CHARGES THAT HE WAS A COMMUNIST OR HAD CONTRIBUTED TO PRO-COMMUNIST GROUPS).

5. THESE STORIES THEN CAUSED ME TO GO BACK AND REVIEW SOME WELL-KNOWN DOCUMENTS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT FREEDOM AND LIBERTY. YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH MOST OF THESE, I'M SURE.

- a) ^{HIMSELF} JESUS SAID, " . . . AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE."
- b) VOLTAIRE (17TH CENTURY) "I DISAPPROVE OF WHAT YOU SAY, BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT."
- c) THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS - (1776) - " A FREQUENT RECURRENCE TO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO PRESERVE THE BLESSING OF LIBERTY."

d) DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (ALSO 1776) - "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

e) BENJAMIN FRANKLIN - "THOSE WHO WOULD GIVE UP ESSENTIAL LIBERTY TO PURCHASE A LITTLE TEMPORARY SAFETY DESERVE NEITHER LIBERTY NOR SAFETY."

SO, AFTER DELIBERATING UPON THESE NEWS STORIES AND STATEMENTS ABOUT FREEDOM AND RELATING THEM TO WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD TODAY, I FELT QUITE SURE THAT I WANTED TO TALK WITH YOU TONIGHT FOR A LITTLE WHILE ABOUT "FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY" AND THEIR PARTICULAR IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR SCHOOLS TODAY - ESPECIALLY OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. THIS IS, INDEED, A CRUCIAL MATTER - NOT YET SOLVED BY ANY MEANS. NOR WILL IT EVER BE COMPLETELY SOLVED FOR ALL TIME. IT IS CONSTANTLY BEFORE US FOR CONSIDERATION AND DECISION - GENERATION AFTER GENERATION.

HENCE, MY TOPIC FOR THIS 1963 COMMENCEMENT HERE AT WESTERN, "FREEDOM IS AN UNFINISHED BUSINESS."

III. MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN SEMANTIC CONFUSION ABOUT "FREEDOM." IT IS MOST OFTEN DEFINED IN TERMS OF THE REMOVAL OF THE TYPE OF

CONSTRAINT THAT HAS BEEN MOST RECENTLY EXPERIENCED. FOR THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL IN THE TIME OF MOSES, "FREEDOM" MEANT GETTING OUT OF EGYPT, OUT FROM UNDER THE TYRANNY OF KING PHAROAH (JUST LAST MONTH I SAW AND SWAM IN THE SAME RED SEA WHICH THEY CROSSED IN THEIR FLIGHT). FOR THE HUNGRY FRENCH PEASANTS IN 1789 WHO ASSEMBLED AS AN ANGRY MOB IN THE COBBLESTONE COURT IN FRONT OF THE VERSAILLES PALACE NEAR PARIS, IT MEANT "DOWN WITH MONARCHY - SEND LOUIS XVI AND MARIE ANTOINETTE TO THE GUILLOTINE" (I MIGHT ADD PARENTHETICALLY THAT JUST THREE WEEKS AGO I STOOD IN THAT SAME COURTYARD AFTER I HAD TOURED THE ELEGANT PALACE, AND I CAN NOW UNDERSTAND BETTER HOW THE PEASANTS MUST HAVE FELT ABOUT THE ROYALTY ENJOYING EXTREME LUXURY WHILE THE POOR WERE STARVING.) FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE IN 1863, "FREEDOM" MEANT NO LONGER TO BE "OWNED" BY A WHITE MASTER; FOR THE NEGRO IN BIRMINGHAM THIS MONTH IT MEANS THE RIGHT NOT TO BE SEGRATED IN PUBLIC FACILITIES. FOR THE PEOPLE OF ALGERIA IN 1962 IT MEANT GETTING THE FRENCH OUT OF THE COUNTRY AND SETTING UP THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT. AND, FOR THE TEENAGER OF ANY GENERATION IT MEANS NO LONGER BEING SUBJECT TO THE DECISIONS - OR WHAT HE CALLS "DOMINATION" BY HIS PARENTS. HE IS "FREE" THEN TO DO WHAT HE LIKES - THAT IS, HE THINKS HE IS FREE!

OF COURSE, THERE NEVER HAS BEEN UNIVERSAL AGREEMENT ON WHAT FREEDOM AND LIBERTY REALLY MEAN. IN 1864, IN A SPEECH DELIVERED

AT BALTIMORE, ABRAHAM LINCOLN HAD THIS TO SAY ABOUT THE MATTER.

"THE WORLD HAS NEVER HAD A GOOD DEFINITION OF THE WORD 'LIBERTY,' AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, JUST NOW, ARE MUCH IN WANT OF ONE." AND MONTESQUIEU, IN HIS BOOK, THE SPIRIT OF THE LAWS, SAID, "THERE IS NO WORD THAT ADMITS OF MORE VARIOUS MEANINGS AND HAS MADE MORE VARIOUS IMPRESSIONS ON THE HUMAN MIND THAN THAT OF "LIBERTY."

AND YET POLITICAL LEADERS AND PEOPLE IN GENERAL IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY USE THE TERMS "FREEDOM" AND "LIBERTY" AS IF THEY WERE SIMPLE AND SELF-EXPLANATORY IDEAS. OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM COMPLACENTLY DESCRIBES AMERICA AS "THE LAND OF THE FREE." THE JOHN BIRCHERS DECLARE "FREEDOM" AND "LIBERTY" TO BE IMPERATIVE - "PILLARS OF OUR TRADITION," THEY SAY; (AND YET THEY WOULD AT THE SAME TIME WITHHOLD FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSOCIATION FROM THOSE WHOSE VIEWS ARE DIFFERENT FROM THEIRS.) MANY PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES CRY LOUDLY ABOUT "STATES' RIGHTS" - ABOUT THE NECESSITY FOR THE STATES TO BE "FREE" FROM FEDERAL IMPOSITION AND CONTROL - AND YET QUITE PARADOXICALLY THEY WOULD DEPRIVE SOME OF THEIR FELLOW AMERICANS - THE NEGROES IN THEIR OWN STATES - OF THE FREEDOM TO VOTE.

SOCIOLOGISTS AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS TELL US THAT "FREEDOM" IS A CONCEPT THAT HAS MEANING ONLY IN A SUBJECTIVE SENSE. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY SAY THAT ANY PERSON WHO IS COMPLETELY IN HARMONY

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WITH HIS CULTURE FEELS "FREE;" HE ACCEPTS VOLUNTARILY THE DEMANDS MADE UPON HIM. THEY SAY FURTHER THAT THE COMPLETELY BRAINWASHED NAZI OR COMMUNIST IS THE PERFECT EXAMPLE OF A "FREE" MAN.

C.C. BECKER, THE WELL-KNOWN HISTORIAN, WRITES THAT "FREEDOM" AND "LIBERTY" ARE RELATIVE TERMS. "THEY MEAN NOTHING," HE SAYS, "UNTIL THEY ARE GIVEN SPECIFIC CONTENT, AND WITH A LITTLE MASSAGE THEY WILL TAKE ANY CONTENT YOU LIKE."

FOR OUR CONSIDERATION TONIGHT, THEREFORE, I SUGGEST THAT WE THINK ABOUT A LINE STRETCHED HORIZONTALLY BEFORE US - A CONTINUUM YOU MAY WISH TO CALL IT - ON ONE END OF WHICH IS "ORDER" OR AUTHORITY OR GOVERNMENT. "ORDER" IN THIS CASE WOULD INCLUDE CONFORMITY, REGIMENTATION AND RULE OF A SOMEWHAT RESTRICTIVE NATURE. ON THE OTHER END OF THIS LINE OR CONTINUUM IS "CHAOS" OR "ANARCHY." THESE TERMS ARE USED HERE TO INDICATE A POSITION WHICH IS THE EXACT OPPOSITE OF "ORDER." AT THIS END WE WOULD HAVE COMPLETE AND UNRESTRAINED INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM - WITH NO DEGREE OF CONTROL OR RULE BY AN ORGANIZED GROUP.

MAN IS ALWAYS SEARCHING FOR AN OPERATING POINT ALONG THIS CONTINUUM WHICH SEEMS BOTH REASONABLE AND ACCEPTABLE - ACCEPTABLE, THAT IS, TO THE GROUP AS WELL AS TO THE INDIVIDUAL, AT ANY GIVEN TIME AND PLACE. IN SEARCHING FOR THIS POINT WE MUST ASK CERTAIN CRUCIAL QUESTIONS: HOW LOOSELY, FREELY AND FLEXIBLY CAN WE BEHAVE

AS INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL GROUPS AND YET NOT ABUSE THE MAJORITY?
AND, CONVERSELY, HOW MUCH "ORDER," "CONTROL," OR REGIMENTATION CAN
 WE HAVE BY THE GROUP AT LARGE WITHOUT STIFLING OR UNNECESSARILY
 RESTRICTING THE MINORITY OR INDIVIDUAL? IT IS ^{OBVIOUS} ~~THAT THERE ARE~~ THERE ARE
 NO SIMPLE ANSWERS TO SUCH QUESTIONS.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS ITSELF IS MERELY A LIMIT IMPOSED ON
 MAJORITY RULE, AND THEREFORE A LIMIT IMPOSED ON DEMOCRACY, IN THE
 INTEREST OF FREEDOM.

THIS CONSTANT SEARCH AND NEVER-ENDING STRUGGLE FOR A BALANCE -
 A WORKABLE BALANCE - BETWEEN "ORDER" ON THE ONE HAND AND "FREEDOM"
 ON THE OTHER MANIFEST THEMSELVES IN MANY AREAS OF OUR RELATIONS
 WITH ONE ANOTHER: 1) THE PARENT VS. THE CHILD; 2) THE LAW VS. THE
 CITIZEN; 3) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT VS. "STATES' RIGHTS;" 4) THE
 UNITED NATIONS AND WORLD GOVERNMENT VS. INDIVIDUAL NATIONS; 5) THE
 TEACHER VS. THE PUPIL (AT ANY LEVEL OF EDUCATION); 6) THE COLLEGE
 PRESIDENT VS. HIS FACULTY AND STUDENT BODY; 7) AND, IF YOU PLEASE,
 THE CAPTAIN BLYES VS. THE MR. CHRISTIANS. [PRES. THOMPSON, I
 ASSURE YOU IT IS PURELY COINCIDENTAL THAT I REFERRED TO THE TYRANT,
 CAPTAIN BLYE OF MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE "COLLEGE
 PRESIDENT."]]

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF "FREEDOM" CONCEPT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SUGGESTIONS.

NOW, IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT A PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN "ORDER" AND
 "FREEDOM" IN ANY OF THESE AREAS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, IT BECOMES

CLEAR
~~THAT~~ THAT THERE MUST BE COMPROMISE. WE AS A SOCIETY OF MEN JUST CANNOT POSSIBLY OPERATE SUCCESSFULLY AT EITHER OF THE EXTREME ENDS OF THIS CONTINUUM. NOR CAN WE OPERATE AT BOTH ENDS AT THE SAME TIME. THERE MUST BE SOME GIVE AND TAKE ~~FOR~~ BY THE GROUP AND BY THE INDIVIDUAL. WE MUST "LOOSEN UP" OR "RELAX" TO WHATEVER EXTENT NECESSARY THE "ORDER" AND "AUTHORITY." AND AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST BRING ABOUT SOME "CURTAILMENT" AND "TIGHTENING UP" IN THE "FREEDOM" (OR INDIVIDUAL) AREA.

FAILURE TO ACHIEVE A WORKABLE BALANCE IN THIS RESPECT HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY NOTABLE EVENTS IN HISTORY. THEIR NUMBER IS LEGION, BUT I SHALL MENTION ONLY A FEW: 1) THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN 1776; 2) THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA IN 1917; 3) THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO INDIA BY ENGLAND IN 1947; 4) THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT IN 1956; 5) THE REVOLUTION IN INDONESIA AGAINST THE DUTCH IN 1961; AND 6) IN OUR OWN COUNTRY THE SPECTACULAR RISE AND EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO - ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH - SINCE 1950.

THIS CHANGE OF BALANCE - THIS LOOSENING UP OF "ORDER" OR TIGHTENING UP OF "FREEDOM" - MAY BE ACCOMPLISHED EITHER BY FORCE FROM WITHOUT OR BY VOLUNTARY ACTION FROM WITHIN. THE VOLUNTARY ACTION, BASED ON AN AWARENESS OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO OTHERS - THE GOLDEN RULE IDEA, IN FACT - IS ADMITTEDLY THE MOST DESIRABLE, THE MOST EFFECTIVE, AND, IN TURN, THE MOST ENDURING SOLUTION. BUT

THIS COURSE OF ACTION IS NOT EASY TO BRING ABOUT.

EDMUND BURKE ONCE SAID, "MEN ARE QUALIFIED FOR CIVIL LIBERTY IN EXACT PROPORTION TO THEIR DISPOSITION TO PUT MORAL CHAINS UPON THEIR OWN APPETITES; IN PROPORTION AS THEIR LOVE FOR JUSTICE IS ABOVE THEIR RAPACITY; IN PROPORTION AS THEIR SOUNDNESS AND SOBRIETY OF UNDERSTANDING ARE ABOVE THEIR VANITY AND PRESUMPTION."

YOUTH AND ADULTS NEED TO BE REMINDED FREQUENTLY OF THEIR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS CITIZENS - AS WELL AS THEIR PRIVILEGES. "THEIR MEMBERSHIP FEES IN THE SOCIETY OF MEN SOMETIMES FALL DUE AND PAYABLE."¹ THIS MATTER OF OBLIGATION AND RESPONSIBILITY IS ALWAYS BEFORE US IN JUST AS GREAT PROMINENCE AND IMPORTANCE AS IS THE CLAIM FOR "FREEDOM." AN APPROPRIATE QUESTION TO KEEP BEFORE US AS INDIVIDUALS IS: WHAT DUTY OR OBLIGATION DO WE HAVE TO THE LARGER GROUP, THE "ORDER" SIDE OF THE PICTURE - AND, WHAT KINDS OF RESPONSIBILITIES ARE ATTACHED TO THE "FREEDOMS" WE THINK ARE OURS? THIS IS INDEED AN AWESOME QUESTION.

WE COULD AGREE, I BELIEVE, THAT THERE IS NO EDUCATION WITHOUT PUNISHMENT OR REWARD - NO GAME WITHOUT RULES AND PENALTIES.

"FREEDOM," IN ITS BEST SENSE, AS JOHN LOCKE SAID MANY YEARS AGO, "IS NOT A LIBERTY FOR EVERY MAN TO DO WHAT HE LISTS." RATHER IS FREEDOM THE PRESENCE OF RESPONSIBLE CHOICE. IN FACT, FREEDOM ITSELF IS RESPONSIBILITY !

¹ Educational Policies Commission, 1941

V. ACCENTING AND EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR "LOOSENING UP" THE "ORDER"
OR "AUTHORITY" END OF THE CONTINUUM

NOT FORGETTING THIS, I WISH AT THE SAME TIME TO MAKE A PLEA - A VERY STRONG PLEA - FOR "LOOSENING UP," FOR MAKING MORE FLEXIBLE THE "ORDER" OR "AUTHORITY" END OF THIS CONTINUUM TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED FREQUENTLY AND IN TURN TO ALLOW THE INDIVIDUAL MORE FREEDOM. ESPECIALLY DO I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE NECESSITY OF DOING THIS IN THE EDUCATION PROCESS. FOR IT SEEMS QUITE CLEAR THAT THE PENDULUM HAS SWUNG TOO FAR TO THE RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY IN RECENT YEARS. WE NO LONGER HAVE SEN. MC CARTHY, BUT WE CAN CERTAINLY SEE HIS RIGHT-WING AND ALARMIST DISCIPLES ON EVERY HAND. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THEY ARE NOT ONLY POPULAR IN CERTAIN AREAS AND CIRCLES ACROSS THE LAND, BUT THAT THEY ARE ALSO QUITE INFLUENTIAL AND POWERFUL. THEIR ATTEMPTS TO CENSOR AND BAN TEXTBOOKS; THEIR EFFORTS TO PROBE INTO THE PRIVATE LIVES OF ANYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH THEM; THEIR CRIES OF "REDS ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUSES," "COMMUNISTS IN OUR PULPITS;" AND THEIR FREQUENTLY SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO SILENCE AND EVEN IMPRISON PERSONS WHO WOULD DARE TO QUESTION OR NOT COOPERATE WITH CERTAIN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES OF THE GOVERNMENT--ARE ALL ALARMING THREATS TO THE KIND OF FREEDOM OUR BILL OF RIGHTS CLEARLY OUTLINES.

THIS NEED FOR "LOOSENING UP," FOR "LIBERALIZING," FOR DEVELOPING A GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND TOLERANCE FOR THE VIEWS OF OTHERS APPLIES

PARTICULARLY TO THE FIELD OF EDUCATION. WE EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE FOR TWO GENERAL PURPOSES: 1) FOR THE BENEFIT AND PERPETUATION OF OUR SOCIETY AS WE KNOW IT OR AS WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IT; AND 2) FOR THE EMANCIPATION, THE SELF-REALIZATION, AND THE FREEING OF THE INDIVIDUAL. BOTH THESE PURPOSES ARE IMPERATIVE, AND EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY, AT TIMES, APPEAR TO BE IN CONFLICT, THEY ACTUALLY COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER. ONE CANNOT EXIST FOR LONG WITHOUT THE OTHER. HERE AGAIN WE MUST KEEP A PROPER BALANCE. BUT IT SEEMS THAT IN RECENT YEARS IN THIS COUNTRY WE HAVE BEEN STRESSING THE GROUP OBJECTIVE FAR MORE THAN THE INDIVIDUAL OBJECTIVE. THIS IS DANGEROUS, BECAUSE IF THE INDIVIDUAL IS STIFLED AND THEN MOLDED FOR GROUP PURPOSES ONLY, OUR CIVILIZATION IS DESTINED FOR COLLAPSE.

THE ULTIMATE JUSTIFICATION OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY LIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL - THE INDEPENDENT, THE UNIQUE INDIVIDUAL. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WE MUST INSIST UPON THE RIGHT NOT TO AND SWALLOWED UP BY THE GROUP BE HOMOGENIZED ~~AND SWALLOWED UP BY THE GROUP~~ - THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY! THIS LEADS, MANY PEOPLE WARN, TO DIVIDED LOYALTIES. PERHAPS SO, BUT I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE DANGER IS NOT THAT LOYALTIES ARE DIVIDED TODAY, BUT THAT THEY MAY BECOME UNDIVIDED TOMORROW. IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO REMEMBER THAT LOYALTIES WERE MARKEDLY DIVIDED IN FIRST CENTURY JERUSALEM WHEN JESUS TOLD THE JEWISH PRIESTS OF HIS TIME THAT THEY WERE NOT MAKING PROPER USE EITHER OF THE LORD'S HOUSE OR OF HIS COMMANDMENTS. LOYALTIES WERE AGAIN DIVIDED IN THE EARLY 16TH

CENTURY WHEN COPERNICUS BEGAN TO INSIST THAT THE EARTH WAS NOT THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE BUT RATHER THAT IT AND THE OTHER PLANETS REVOLVED AROUND THE SUN. TROUBLE WAS STIRRED UP WHEN COLUMBUS AND MAGELLAN CLAIMED AND SET OUT TO PROVE THAT THE EARTH WAS ROUND INSTEAD OF FLAT. LOYALTIES WERE FURTHER DIVIDED AND THE PEACEFUL STATUS-QUO UPSET WHEN, IN 1776, AN "UPSTART" - A REAL REBEL - IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BY THE NAME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON SAID TO THE WORLD THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL" - THAT KINGS ARE NOT BETTER OR MORE IMPORTANT THAN PRINCES, AND THAT ROYALTY IS NO MORE VALUABLE THAN THE COMMON MAN. THE STUDENT OF HISTORY WILL RECALL THAT JEFFERSON'S WORDS WERE CONSIDERED BLASPHEMOUS AND REVOLUTIONARY NOT ONLY BY MOST PEOPLE ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, BUT ALSO BY MANY OF HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC.

EVEN THE APOSTLE PAUL WAS SO MUCH OF A NON-CONFORMIST, SUCH AN INDEPENDENT PERSON THAT HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE QUALIFIED AS AN ACCEPTABLE MISSIONARY UNDER THE USUAL RULES OF MISSIONARY BOARDS. TO SAY THE LEAST, HE WAS NOT AN "ORGANIZATION MAN." LISTEN TO THIS LETTER WHICH, THOUGH FICTIONAL, MIGHT VERY WELL HAVE BEEN SENT TO PAUL BY THE MISSIONARY BOARD OF HIS DAY:

THE REV. (APOSTLE") PAUL
INDEPENDENT MISSIONARY
C/O PHILIP THE EVANGELIST
~~CAESAREA~~, PALESTINE
CAESAREA

MY DEAR MR. PAUL:

WE RECENTLY RECEIVED YOUR APPLICATION, MAILED FROM
EPHESUS, FOR MISSIONARY SERVICE UNDER OUR AGENCY. AND
QUITE FRANKLY, WE ARE SURPRISED THAT YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE
TO PASS AS A BONA FIDE MISSIONARY AT ALL.

YOUR MEDICAL REPORT, FILLED OUT BY DR. LUKE, IS
NOT IN YOUR FAVOR. HE TELLS US THAT YOU ARE AFFLICTED
WITH SEVERE EYE TROUBLE, WHICH IS CERTAIN TO BE A
HANDICAP TO AN EFFECTIVE MINISTRY. OUR AGENCY REQUIRES
20/20 VISION. A HEALTHY MIND IN A ROBUST BODY IS OUR
IDEAL FOR ALL APPLICANTS. AND YET THE REPORT STATES
THAT YOU ARE A THIN LITTLE MAN, BALDING, FREQUENTLY
SICK, AND ALWAYS SO AGITATED OVER YOUR CHURCHES THAT
YOU SLEEP VERY POORLY. I'M AFRAID YOUR AGE IS AGAINST
YOU. AND WE UNDERSTAND, TOO, THAT YOU ARE GIVEN TO
FANTASIES AND DREAMS. WE BELIEVE THAT MORE REALISTIC
AND PRACTICAL MINDS ARE NEEDED IN THE TASK OF WORLD
EVANGELISM.

AND IS IT TRUE THAT YOU HAVE A JAIL RECORD? CERTAIN
BRETHREN REPORT THAT YOU HAVE "DONE TIME" AT PHILIPPI AND

EPHESUS, AND THERE ARE RUMORS THAT IF YOU APPEAR IN PALESTINE AGAIN YOU WILL BE ARRESTED, AND PERHAPS EVEN SENT TO ROME.

SENSATIONALISM HAS NO PLACE IN MISSIONS! WE DEPLORE THE LURID OVER-THE-WALL EPISODE AT DAMASCUS AND ARE APPALLED AT YOUR OBVIOUS LACK OF CONCILIATORY BEHAVIOR.. DIPLOMATIC MEN ARE ^{JUST} NOT STONED AND DRAGGED OUT OF THE CITY GATE, OR ASSAULTED BY FURIOUS MOBS. HAVEN'T YOU EVER SUSPECTED THAT GENTLER WORDS MIGHT GAIN MORE FRIENDS? I AM SENDING YOU A COPY OF GALIUS CARNAGUS' BOOK HOW TO WIN JEWS AND INFLUENCE GREEKS AND WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU BONE UP ON SOME OF HIS SURE-FIRE PSYCHOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES.

IN ONE OF YOUR LETTERS YOU WROTE, "GOD FORBID THAT I SHOULD GLORY IN ANYTHING EXCEPT THE CROSS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." IT SEEMS TO US THAT YOU ALSO OUGHT TO GLORY IN OUR WORTHY HERITAGE, THE WORK AND PROGRAM OF OUR CHURCH, THE UNIFIED BUDGET.

AND YOUR SERMONS ARE FAR TOO LONG FOR OUR TIME. WHY, AT ONE PLACE YOU TALKED UNTIL AFTER MIDNIGHT. WE MAINTAIN THAT NOBODY IS SAVED AFTER THE FIRST TWENTY MINUTES.

YOUR MINISTRY HAS, I'M AFRAID, BEEN FAR TOO FLIGHTY TO BE SUCCESSFUL. FIRST ASIA MINOR, THEN MACEDONIA, THEN GREECE. AND NOW YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT A WILD-GOOSE CHASE TO SPAIN, WHERE THERE MAY NOT EVEN BE ANY CHRISTIANS!

AND DO YOU THINK IT WITHIN THE DIGNITY OF A MISSIONARY TO DO PART-TIME SECULAR WORK? WE HEAR THAT YOU ARE MAKING TENTS ON THE SIDE, AND THAT YOU ACTUALLY BOASTED TO THE CHURCH IN CORINTH THAT YOU ACCEPTED NO SUPPORT FROM THEM, AS OTHER APOSTLES HAVE. WE WONDER WHY.

IN ALL MY MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF EXPERIENCE, I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF A MAN SO OPPOSITE TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR AGENCY. IF WE WERE TO ACCEPT YOU, WHICH, OF COURSE, WE CANNOT, WE WOULD HAVE TO BREAK ALMOST EVERY RULE OF CONTEMPORARY MISSION PRACTICE.

MOST SINCERELY YOURS,

T. FLAVIUS, SECRETARY
COMMITTEE FOR ECUMENICAL
MISSIONS AND RELATIONS

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT CIVILIZATION IS DEPENDENT UPON THE PAULS, THE JEFFERSONS, THE EDISONS, THE LINCOLNS, THE GHANDIS, AND THE CHURCHILLS FOR ITS VERY EXISTENCE AND PERPETUATION. AND YET MUCH OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM SEEMS DESIGNED TO CURB INDEPENDENT AND CREATIVE THINKERS - TO THWART AND DISCOURAGE THEM IN WHATEVER WAYS

POSSIBLE. WE SEEM MORE AND MORE PRONE TO DISTRUST, IN FACT, FREQUENTLY TO PROHIBIT ANY IDEAS WHICH CHALLENGE THE STATUS QUO. BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE CLAIM TO BELIEVE IN AND SUPPORT LIBERAL EDUCATION, WHOSE CHIEF AIM IS TO FREE THE MINDS OF MEN.

SOMEONE HAS SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MIND AND A CHARACTER NOT EASILY IMPOSED UPON. SUCH AN EDUCATION, IF PROPERLY CONDUCTED, WOULD RESULT IN AN ABILITY TO EVALUATE EVIDENCE, A BALANCED PERSPECTIVE OF MAN IN HISTORY, AND A NICE DISCRIMINATION IN THE USE OF LANGUAGE. IT SHOULD ALSO RESULT IN AN UNDERSTANDING AND DEEP RESPECT FOR THE WORTH AND DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND A ZEALOUS SUPPORT OF THE "BROTHERHOOD OF MAN" CONCEPT.

MOST PERSONS WOULD AGREE THAT THIS KIND OF EDUCATION IS NEEDED - THAT IT IS BOTH REASONABLE AND DEFENSIBLE. AND YET ONE FINDS IT ALL TOO INFREQUENTLY - AT ANY LEVEL, ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, OR COLLEGIATE. RATHER IS OUR EDUCATION BECOMING MORE AND MORE CHARACTERIZED BY TIMIDITY - BY ULTRA CONSERVATISM - EVEN BY FEAR. IT SEEMS TO ENCOURAGE, AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION, A DISTRUST OR LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE INDIVIDUAL, THAT IS, THE UNIQUE INDIVIDUAL.

APPARENTLY, WE ARE BECOMING AFRAID OF FREEDOM - AFRAID TO LET THE STUDENT, EVEN THE COLLEGE STUDENT, KNOW ALL THE FACTS AND THEORIES AVAILABLE ABOUT A MATTER AND THEN COME TO HIS OWN CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THEIR RELEVANCY TO HIS LIFE IN THE 20TH CENTURY.

UNDER PRESSURE FROM EXTREME RIGHT -WING GROUPS, WE SEEM RELUCTANT TO ALLOW - MUCH LESS TO ENCOURAGE - THE HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE STUDENT TO BECOME CONCERNED ABOUT AND INVOLVED IN CURRENT PROBLEMS OF MANKIND. IF THE MATTER IS CONTROVERSIAL - AND OF COURSE MOST REALLY IMPORTANT MATTERS ARE CONTROVERSIAL - WE SOMEHOW FEEL COMPELLED TO "PROTECT" THE STUDENT BY MAKING AVAILABLE TO HIM ONLY THE "PARTY-LINE" TEXTBOOK. OR IF HE DOES READ ABOUT AND TAKE AN INTEREST IN A "DELICATE QUESTION" OF THE DAY, MANY EDUCATORS TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE SCHOOL IS NO PLACE TO DEAL WITH SUCH THINGS.

EVEN AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL WE SAY IN ESSENCE TO THE 20 YEAR OLD STUDENT THAT HE IS TOO YOUNG, TOO IMMATURE, TOO INEXPERIENCED TO HAVE ANY VALID OPINION ON IMPORTANT MATTERS. AND BY SO DOING WE DEPRIVE HIM OF HIS MOST PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN AND TO GROW. WE WANT HIM TO BE AN UPRIGHT, THINKING, AND ACTIVE CITIZEN IN OUR COMPLEX 20TH CENTURY SOCIETY, IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS GRADUATION; AND YET PRIOR TO THAT GRADUATION WE CLOSE MOST OF THE DOORS THROUGH WHICH HE MUST TRAVEL, IF HE IS TO BE PROPERLY PREPARED FOR THIS GREAT RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP. IT'S LIKE TELLING A CHILD NOT TO GO IN THE WATER UNTIL HE HAS LEARNED TO SWIM! ~~THIS~~

THIS KIND OF EDUCATION - THIS INSISTENCE UPON THE STATUS QUO, ~~THIS~~ FROWNING UPON INDEPENDENT THINKING - LEADS DOWNHILL TO SLAVERY, NOT UPHILL TO FREEDOM. IT FURTHERS THE DISTRUST OR AT

LEAST THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE WHICH PARENTS MAY HAVE TOWARD THEIR CHILDREN - AND, IN TURN, CHILDREN TOWARD THEIR PARENTS. IT LEADS TO FURTHER "CODDLING" AND DOMINATION OF PUPILS BY TEACHERS. IT CAUSES HIGHLY INTELLIGENT, INDEPENDENT AND CREATIVE FACULTY MEMBERS ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS QUITE OFTEN TO BE VIEWED AS SUSPECT BY THEIR DEPARTMENT CHAIRMAN, BY THEIR DEAN AND BY THEIR PRESIDENT. AND IT LEADS TO GREATER SUPPORT OF THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING GROUPS IN THIS COUNTRY AS THEY ATTEMPT TO FORCE ON EVERYONE THEIR NARROW AND PROVINCIAL CONCEPT OF "FREEDOM" AND "AMERICANISM."

AVERILL HARRIMAN, RECENTLY NAMED THIS COUNTRY'S UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, WAS QUOTED JUST THIS MONTH IN NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE AS SAYING, "THE THING THAT WORRIES ME IS THE PLAIN IMPLICATION THAT YOU'RE NOT A PATRIOT IF YOU DON'T WANT TO GO TO WAR."¹ AND EVEN THOUGH ADLAI STEVENSON WAS NOT QUOTED IN EXACTLY THIS SAME WAY, I FEEL SURE HE MUST HAVE HAD SIMILAR FEELINGS WHEN HE WAS BEING CRITICIZED SO SEVERELY BY MANY WHO FELT HE WAS BEING TOO SOFT BOTH WITH THE RUSSIANS AND WITH CASTRO.

THIS SORT OF ATMOSPHERE CAUSES EACH OF US MORE AND MORE TO DISTRUST ANYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH US, AND TO BRAND AS TRAITOR THOSE WHO HAVE GRAVE AND SINCERE RESERVATIONS ABOUT CONTINUING OUR TESTS OF ATOMIC BOMBS OR THOSE WHO WOULD ADVOCATE PEACE TALKS WITH RUSSIA.

THE GROUPS AT THE EXTREME RIGHT CRY LOUDLY, "WAKE UP, AMERICA, TRAITORS ARE IN OUR MIDST." NOBODY SEEMS QUITE SURE WHO OR WHERE

¹ Newsweek, May 13, 1963, p. 32

THESE TRAITORS ARE OR WHAT IT IS THEY ARE REALLY DOING TO DESERVE THE NAME TRAITOR. IN FACT, EVEN THOSE WHO DECLARE THAT TRAITORS ARE WITHIN OUR RANKS ARE SELDOM ABLE TO IDENTIFY THEM OR ACTUALLY PROVE THAT THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE, IN FACT, DETRIMENTAL TO THE WELFARE OF THIS COUNTRY.

I, TOO, SAY, "WAKE UP, AMERICA", BUT I WOULD SUGGEST A DIFFERENT MESSAGE TO FOLLOW. I SAY, "WAKE UP, AMERICA, AND BE FREE! BE EVER ALERT TO MAINTAIN AND PERPETUATE FOR ALL YOUR CITIZENS THE TRUE FREEDOM UPON WHICH THIS COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED. DO THIS BY ALLOWING ALL OF THEM, EVERY PERSON WHO LIVES IN THIS COUNTRY, TO BE FREE - FREE IN THEIR BELIEFS, FREE IN THEIR SPEECH FREE IN THEIR ASSOCIATIONS, ^{AND} FREE TO VOTE AS THEY CHOOSE, ~~AND~~ ~~IN THEIR OWN MINDS~~, AS FREE AS THE AIR THEY BREATHE." THIS WOULD BE MY MESSAGE TO FOLLOW THE "WAKE UP, AMERICA" ALARM.

BUT THIS IS DANGEROUS, MANY PEOPLE SAY. TO GRANT ALL THESE FREEDOMS ^{WOULD} ~~LEAD~~ LEAD TO CHAOS, THEY ARGUE. HOW CAN WE KEEP CONTROL OF PEOPLE IF WE ALLOW THEM TO THINK, SPEAK, AND ACT AS THEY PLEASE? THE ANSWER IS, OF COURSE, THAT WE CAN NOT "CONTROL" THEM, BUT HEREIN LIES THE SECRET OF TRUE DEMOCRACY. NOBODY SHOULD "CONTROL" OR BE "CONTROLLED." A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS TRULY OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE IS NOT CHARACTERIZED BY "CONTROL" OF ONE GROUP BY ANOTHER. THE RESTRAINT WE SEEK MUST BE SELF-IMPOSED TO BE EFFECTIVE.

GRANTED THAT FREEDOM IS DANGEROUS; ADMITTED THAT WE MUST BE ON THE WATCH FOR THOSE WHO WOULD ACTUALLY BETRAY THIS COUNTRY. BUT LET US AT THE SAME TIME NOT MISTAKE FOR TREASON WHAT IS IN REALITY INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT OR A SINCERE DESIRE FOR PEACE WITH ALL MANKIND. THESE ARE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT THINGS. DRIVING A CAR IN 1963 IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS BUSINESS, BUT WE DON'T SAY OUTLAW THE AUTOMOBILE. FIRE CAN BE HORRIBLE. IT CAN AND DOES AT TIMES SWEEP AWAY HUMAN LIVES AND VALUABLE PROPERTY, BUT NOBODY HAS YET ADVOCATED A PROHIBITION ON THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF MATCHES. SO IS ATOMIC ENERGY POWERFUL AND DANGEROUS. IT CAN ANNIHILATE CIVILIZATION. AND YET FEW PEOPLE WOULD DEPRIVE US OF ITS USE FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THUS IT IS WITH THESE FREEDOMS I HAVE MENTIONED. THEY ARE, TO BE SURE, VERY DANGEROUS AND RISKY AND YET WE MUST INSIST UPON THEM FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE. BECAUSE WITHOUT ALLOWING THESE SPECIFIC AND CONCRETE FREEDOMS TO EVERYONE, WE WOULD SOON FIND OURSELVES IN A TOTALITARIAN STATE WITH NO FREEDOM FOR ANYONE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD REMIND US ALL - ESPECIALLY THOSE OF US IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES - THAT EDUCATION MUST SHOW THE WAY. AN EDUCATION WHICH NOT ONLY ALLOWS BUT ALSO ENCOURAGES STUDENTS TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY AND TO SPEAK FREELY WITHOUT FEAR OF REPRISAL IS THE KIND OF EDUCATION I URGE WESTERN TO CONTINUE TO OFFER - NO MATTER WHAT THE COST. AND IT IS THE KIND OF EDUCATION WHICH I HOPE ALL

YOU FUTURE TEACHERS IN THIS AUDIENCE HERE TONIGHT WILL PROVIDE
FOR THE CHILDREN AND YOUTH YOU WILL SOMEDAY TEACH.

MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND KEEP YOU TRULY FREE !